

Hindi, India and the United Nations

**Opposing View from
Non-Hindi Indians**

edited by
Thanjai Nalankilli

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Keywords: Hindi, United Nations, India, opposition, Hindi imposition, anti-Hindi agitation, official language policy, national language

Preface

This mini-book consists of three articles opposed to giving Hindi any special status at the United Nations until India ends its discriminatory language policies and practices within India. The first article is written specifically for this book. The other two articles were published earlier and reproduced here.

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Thanjai Nalankilli

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1. Opening Remarks

"Please do not give Hindi any special status or privilege in the United Nations until Indian Government practices multilingualism within India, communicates with people in their state languages and stops discrimination of non-Hindi languages."

Indian government has been campaigning to make Hindi an official language of the United Nations (UN) for over a decade. One Hindi speaking Member of Indian Parliament even said that India could pay the expenses involved in making Hindi an official language (Times of India; September 14, 2015). Unfortunately for Hindi-Indians money cannot buy this prestigious international status for Hindi; it requires the consent of two-thirds of the member countries of United Nations.

We are publishing this mini-book to campaign AGAINST making Hindi an official language of the UN. I am a Tamil speaker from Tamil Nadu State of India. As Chezian states in Chapter 2 of this book, "Making Hindi a United Nations official language is a privilege, not a right. Hindi speakers should earn that privilege by correcting the current discriminatory language policy of the Indian Government."

We request that Member Countries of United Nations ask India to **correct its discriminatory language policies within India** before considering India's request to make Hindi an official language.

2. Opposition to Hindi within India

Hindi is not universally accepted within India. In 1965, in the state of Tamil Nadu (called Madras State at that time), massive protests erupted. Police, paramilitary and soldiers shot and killed 63 unarmed young men; 62 of them were shot and killed in a single week. There were no such massive protests after that, not because Tamil people accepted Hindi but they saw the futility of such protests in Hindi controlled India.

Tamil Nadu is **not the only state to oppose Hindi supremacy** in India. There is opposition in all southern and eastern states at some level, with Tamil Nadu raising its voice most loudly. In recent years Karnataka State has also raised its voice loudly. Generally, farther you move away from the Hindi belt, more the opposition. Each of these states has populations larger than many member countries of the United Nations. For example, **Tamil Nadu population is over 70 million**. Out of the 193 countries in the United Nations, over 170 have population less than Tamil Nadu.

3. India Speaking from Both Sides of the Mouth

Mr. Deepak Misra, a member of the Indian Mission, said: "Genuine multilingualism promotes unity in diversity and international understanding by recognizing the importance of communicating to the peoples of the world in their languages by bringing the common goals and ideals closer to the people." (Indo Asian News Service; October 20, 2018)

Great thought. Great statement. We would applaud Mr. Misra if not for the hypocrisy of this statement. While this representative of the Indian government is talking of "multilingualism promoting unity in diversity and international understanding by recognizing the importance of communicating to the peoples of the world in their languages" in order to get Hindi into United Nations, Indian government is doing exactly the opposite within India.

While preaching multilingualism in the United Nations, India is doing exactly the opposite within India.

4. Indian Government Hypocrisy

India wants all United Nations proceedings be translated into Hindi. What is happening within India? Indian parliament proceedings are translated to English and Hindi only. Ministers can talk only in Hindi or English. Members of parliament may speak in other languages if they give prior notice; even then, they are allowed to ask secondary (follow-up) questions or make follow-up comments only in Hindi or English.

India wants United Nations to make social media posts (twitter, facebook,...) in Hindi also. However Indian government's social media posts are in Hindi and English only.

Indian Mission to United Nations talk of the "importance of communicating to the peoples of the world in their languages by bringing the common goals and ideals closer to the people." (Indo Asian News Service; October 20, 2018). Yet most Indian government bank Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) are in Hindi and English only. Most railway tickets are printed in Hindi and English only. Safety warnings are posted in train compartments in Hindi and English only. Cooking gas cylinders have safety warnings in Hindi and English only. How dare India's UN Mission talk of the "importance of communicating to the peoples of the world in their languages" and request UN to use Hindi in the United Nations?

5. Request to United Nations

We have listed in Appendix-1, twelve examples of how the Indian government's language policy is the antithesis of multilingualism. Until Indian government practices multilingualism within India, United Nations should say "NO" to India on Hindi. Each and every one of the items listed in the Appendix should be rectified first. **Necessary laws should be enacted in parliament so that Indian government would not take back the language rights after it gets what it wants in the United Nations.**

Since Indian central government cares only about Hindi and treats other languages as stepchildren, non-Hindi state governments are the guardians of the languages spoken in India (with the exception of Hindi). A prerequisite to giving Hindi any special privilege in the United Nations is that each and every state must agree that it is satisfied with the newly enacted language rights laws.

6. Concluding Remarks

Making Hindi an official language at the United Nations is a PRIVILEGE, it is not a right. India must earn this privilege by practicing multilingualism within India. This is not United Nations interfering in India's internal affairs. It is asking India to practice multilingualism before the United Nations grants Hindi any special privilege over and above other languages.

APPENDIX

Examples of Language Discrimination in India

Here are twelve examples of Indian government's language discrimination within India. This is not a complete list.

1.

Ministers can speak in parliament only in Hindi or English. So Hindi ministers can speak in their mother tongue, others cannot.

Currently Hindi speakers have a better deal in the United Nations. Hindi speaking Indian ministers can and do speak in Hindi after informing United Nations beforehand. In India, non-Hindi ministers are not allowed to speak in their mother tongue even if they give prior notice. For example, a minister from Tamil Nadu, Mr. Alagiri, sat in silence in parliament all through his tenure, because he did not know Hindi and his proficiency in English is limited. His mother tongue Tamil is spoken by over 70 million Indians.

2.

Non-Hindi Members of Parliament can speak in their mother tongue only if they inform the Speaker of Parliament one-day notice. Even then, they cannot ask supplementary questions or comments in their mother tongue. They can read their main speech or question, that's it.

3.
Parliamentary proceedings are translated only into Hindi and English. So non-Hindi states elect mostly people who have good proficiency in English. This handicaps non - Hindi political candidates. While Indian government practices language discrimination in its parliament, it wants Hindi to be used in the UN General Assembly. Please don't reward India's discriminatory language practices.

4.
Railway tickets in many rail stations are printed in Hindi and English only, thus greatly inconveniencing many non-Hindi Indians. What happened to India's statement that "Genuine multilingualism promotes unity in diversity and international understanding"? (Indo Asian News Service; October 20, 2018). Do within India what you are asking in the United Nations. United Nations shall never give any status to Hindi until India implements multilingualism within India.

Also, ticket reservations can be made only in Hindi or English at its website.

5.
Bank forms (deposit/withdrawal slips, for example) in many banks are in Hindi and English only, even in non-Hindi states. Many Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) are also in Hindi and English only. There are hundreds of millions of people, especially in rural areas, who know only their mother tongue.

6.
Many employees in Indian Government offices in non-Hindi states do not have a working knowledge of the state language. This is frustrating to local citizens. Indian government purposively posts out-of-staters in order to force people to learn Hindi or English. Jobs should go to state people because they know the language. Karnataka State government has repeatedly requested that at least 80% Indian government jobs go to qualified state people. Indian government refuses.

7.
India wants UN Tours to be conducted in Hindi also. If India is for multilingualism, why is its Tourism Department website in English and Hindi only?

8.
India wants UN to make social media posts in Hindi also. Most (over 90%) social media posts from Indian government are in Hindi and English only. Use all languages in your social media posts, before asking UN to use Hindi. Also, almost all Indian government websites are in Hindi and English only.

9.
Most Indian government Safety and Security personnel do not know state language. How can they help people in an emergency? This has caused problem to passengers in airports.

Use peoples' language in India before seeking "special status" for Hindi in United Nations.

10.

Most Coast Guards posted in the non-Hindi southern coast do not know state language. Fishermen from Cochin coast (Kerala) had raised complaint to no avail. A fisherman from Tamil Nadu died even though a Coast Guard ship was near, because coastguards in that ship could not understand the frantic radio calls in Tamil. United Nations, please do not reward India's bad language policies within India.

11.

Indian government's Hindi supremacist language policy is putting lives and welfare of non-Hindi citizens at risks. A few examples.
Some years ago Indian government published AID Prevention pamphlets in English and Hindi only. Indian government asked pharmacies to print drug labels in English and Hindi. "English and state language" is a better alternative. Safety instruction printed on cooking gas cylinders are in Hindi and English only. Do lives of non-Hindi housewives matter in India?

12.

Safety instruction boards in trains (Indian Railways) are in Hindi and English only. For example the instruction "To exit in emergency break glass, pull out pin and lift window frame grill" is in Hindi and English only. Is Indian government attitude, "let non-Hindis die if they choose not to learn Hindi or English?" Are my father and mother sacrificial lambs to Indian government's Hindi fanaticism? I plead to United Nations to ask India to do all its business in each state in the state language. Do not give Hindi any special status until then.

(First Published: March 2019)

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2. Objection to Hindi in United Nations

K. Chezhan

OUTLINE

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1. A Request to Make Hindi an Official Language of United Nations

The Eighth World Hindi Conference in New York City in July 2007, organized by the Indian Government External Affairs Ministry and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, asked the United Nations (UN) to make Hindi an official language. Indian Government said that it would make immediate diplomatic moves to achieve this. (The next two paragraphs are rather light-hearted and you may skip the next two paragraphs to move on to a serious discussion of the issue.)

India's Minister of State for External Affairs Mr. Anand Sharma said that the Eighth World Hindi Conference resolution sends a clear signal when more than 1,000 delegates speak with one voice, something which no other country could achieve till date. It is a rather ridiculous statement on the part of Mr. Sharma. Any country or, for that matter, any language group can bring in a 1000 people (or 10,000 people or 100,000 people) to pass a resolution asking United Nations to make its language an official language at the United Nations. It is not a big achievement; it cannot be called an achievement at all. Within 24 hours I can gather 1000 Tamils and pass a resolution requesting United Nations to make Tamil an official language. I am sure my brothers and sisters speaking Bengali or Telugu or Kannada or Malayalam or Urdu or Swahili or Vietnamese or Portuguese or Polish can do the same. It does not mean anything.

Having said that in light-hearted response to the rather grandiose statement made by India's Minister of State for External Affairs, let us seriously look into the resolution seeking to make Hindi an official language of the United Nations.

Indian government's efforts to make Hindi an official language at the United Nations is continuing. Here is a news item from 2015. Satyavrat Chaturvedi, Member of Parliament (Congress Party), said that India has enough money to bear expenses for making Hindi an official language of United Nations. According to an Indian government official, it would

cost about 47 million US Dollars per year. He added that India paying the money alone is not enough; two-thirds of the member countries have to vote for Hindi and Indian government is working on getting the necessary votes (Times of India; September 14, 2015).

2. Our Objection to Hindi in the United Nations

This writer is from Tamil Nadu, a state in the Indian Union. Tamil people have opposed and continue to oppose making Hindi the official language of the Indian Union on the grounds that Hindi is alien to them and making it the official language discriminates them in employment and other areas. In spite of this opposition, not only from Tamilnadu but also from some other non-Hindi states, Hindi is being imposed on them steadily and systematically. What Tamil people fear (as well as some other non-Hindi peoples) is that recognizing Hindi as an official language of the United Nations would embolden Indian government to continue with more vigor Hindi imposition and language discrimination within India. Stop the Hindi imposition and language discrimination within India first.

3. Hindi Imposition and Language Discrimination within India Should Stop First

Making Hindi a United Nations official language is a privilege, not a right. Hindi speakers should earn that privilege by correcting the current discriminatory language policy of the Indian Government. United Nations, if it ever were to seriously consider Hindi as an official language, should ask India to stop Hindi imposition and language discrimination. Indian Government often says that there is no Hindi imposition and Hindi would never be imposed. These are empty words; the **truth is that Hindi imposition and language discrimination is part of life in non-Hindi regions of India**. United Nations should consider the possibility of making Hindi an official language only **after each linguistic state of the Indian Union certifies by popular vote that there is no Hindi imposition or language discrimination in India**.

4. Hindi is not the Language of a Billion People

The call to make Hindi an official language of the United Nations comes essentially from the 400 million or so Hindi speakers and the Hindi politicians who dominate the Indian parliament because of their numbers there. This call is not from the entire one billion plus population of India. Couple of hundred million non-Hindi speakers from states like Gujarat and Bihar may support it or may not care one way or other but at least a couple of hundred million surely oppose it until Hindi imposition and language discrimination stops within India.

This should be clearly understood. Hindi is not the language of the one billion Indian population as it is often falsely projected. It is the **language of only about 400 million people residing in the north-central region of India**. About half the Indian population does not understand Hindi and attempts to teach them is considered an imposition by many of them, especially in the deep south and east. We are afraid that elevation of Hindi

as an official language of the United Nations would strengthen Hindi imposition and language discrimination within India.

5. Opposition to Hindi Imposition in India

Opposition to Hindi imposition and language discrimination does not come from "some Tamil fanatics" as many Hindi speakers would like people to believe. Opposition to Indian Government's discriminatory language policy comes from the entire Tamil population of about 60 million people, more than the population of many countries in the United Nations. **The legally elected Tamil Nadu State Government not only passed a resolution opposing Hindi as the official language of India, it also removed Hindi as a subject in the tens of thousands of schools under its control to show its opposition.** Not only the ruling party in the state, but also the main opposition party as well as most of the smaller parties are highly critical of Indian Government's language policy. The mass uprising of Tamil Nadu in January-February 1965 in opposition to India's language policy is unprecedented and surpasses any demonstration against British rule in the state [Volume 3; Chapters q1 and 3]. There were no more massive agitations after that because the government crushed it with an iron fist, bringing in troops and police from other states and killing well over a hundred unarmed Tamil youths in just 5 days during the second week of February 1965 (there were also a few deaths in the preceding weeks). Agitation was called off and Hindi imposition continues with no more massive protests.

Opposition is not limited to Tamil people either, some other non-speaking states also oppose it but less vehemently. If people in the southern and eastern states are asked to vote on the issue, they would vote against Hindi as India's official language. **Will the Indian Government hold such a vote and prove to the world that Hindi is accepted throughout the Indian Union?**

6. How about Indian Peoples' Mother Tongues in Indian Parliament?

Currently Members of Parliament can speak only in Hindi or English at the Indian parliament unless they give notify the speaker one-day notice of their intention to speak. Even with notification, they will not be allowed to ask secondary questions in their mother tongue. I suggest that the Indian government spend the crores of Rupees it is willing to give the United Nations to make Hindi there, to hire full-time translators for all Indian languages (not just Hindi) in parliament. Then peoples' representatives (members of parliament) can fully participate in the democratic process of parliamentary affairs. Now good leaders from non-Hindi areas hesitate to contest parliamentary elections because they cannot effectively represent the people there. More information on how Non-Hindi Indian languages are ignored and sidelined in the Indian parliament is discussed in Chapters 1 to 7 of this Volume.

7. What is the Benefit of Making Hindi an Official Language at the United Nations?

Who will benefit? A few Hindi speakers would be hired as translators at the United Nations. What other benefit? Hindi people can boast that their language is used at the

United Nations. Hindi pride. Why should non-Hindi peoples' taxes be used for the pride of Hindi people? It is not just. It is not fair.

8. Our Request to the United Nations

Under these circumstances, we plead to the United Nations not to consider India's request to make Hindi an official language until it corrects its discriminatory language policy within India. Only after the people of each non-Hindi state certify through popular vote that they are satisfied with Indian Government's language policy should United Nations consider Indian Government request. If and when the Indian Governments rectifies its discriminatory language policy to the satisfaction of all the non-Hindi states, Tamil people would have no objection to making Hindi an official language of the United Nations (UN).

(First Published: September 2007; Updated September 2018)

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3.

India Wants Hindi Everywhere in the United Nations - Why We Oppose?

Thanjai Nalankilli

OUTLINE

Abbreviations

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3. Hindi Twitter Feeds from United Nations
4. Practice Multilingualism within India First
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6. A Request to the United Nations
7. What We, the People, Can Do?

ABBREVIATIONS

ATM - Automated Teller Machines

MP - Member of Parliament

UN - United Nations

US, USA - United States of America

1. Introduction

Indian government has been trying to make Hindi an official language of the United Nations (UN) for many years but has not succeeded yet [Chapter 8 of this volume]. So India is trying to push Hindi into the United Nations little by little through back doors and side doors.

2. Guided Tour of the UN in Hindi is Unnecessary

India has been asking United Nations to conduct its tours of the UN head quarters in New York City in Hindi also in addition to the 11 languages it already uses. India reiterated its request again in October 2018.

Deepak Misra, a member of the Indian Mission, told the UN General Assembly committee dealing with special political matters, "The guided tour of UN has been very popular with Indian tourists to New York and, as highlighted by our delegations last year. We urge the addition of guided tour in Hindi, India's official language, to facilitate the tourists" (Indo Asian News Service; October 20, 2018).

I, a non-Hindi Indian citizen, want to point out **several misleading and false information in Mr. Misra's statement**. Mr. Misra said that the tour is popular with

Indian tourists to New York. May be true. But the question is, "do those tourists require Hindi tours?" The answer is an overwhelming "no". Those who come to United States of America (USA, US) for study or business know English; this is one hundred percent true. Only VERY wealthy Indians can afford to come to US for sightseeing tours. Almost all of them have a working knowledge of English, enough to understand a guided tour of the UN. English is taught in all schools in India. Will India provide the number of people from India who visited US for sightseeing? It would be very small. Even smaller would be the number of them who took the UN guided tour. Number of those who do not know English would be a tiny fraction of the Indian tourists to US. In essence India is asking United Nations to conduct guided tours in Hindi for the benefit of, may be, 10 people per year who really need a Hindi narrative.

If there is no practical need for Hindi tours, why is the Indian mission wasting its resources to repeatedly request Hindi tours and even willing to pay for it? It is to stoke the Hindi ego and Hindi pride of Hindi people of India. I did not say "Indian pride", I said "Hindi pride". Most non-Hindi peoples of India do not want Hindi in their own states but tolerate it because the Indian central government, dominated by Hindi politicians, has the power. In 2017, when Indian government added Hindi in Highway milestones, protesters in the southern states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka blacked them out. When Bengaluru Metro (Karnataka) added Hindi to name boards, protests erupted in the city, police had to be deployed to stop the protests. Protests stopped only after the government removed Hindi from name boards. **When its own non-Hindi people do not want Hindi in their states, why is India pushing for Hindi in the United Nations?**

3. Hindi Twitter Feeds from United Nations

Because of the repeated requests from India to use Hindi in its services, United Nations started sending Hindi twitter feeds from July 2018. We wish that United Nations asked Indian government to issue its Twitter messages in all 22 Indian languages listed in the constitution, and not just Hindi and English. Also publish all Indian government websites in all Indian languages, and not just Hindi and English. Over 95% of government websites are in Hindi and English only.

We wish UN would stop the Hindi twitter feeds until Indian government releases all its twitter feeds in the 22 languages listed in the Indian constitution. Many of these languages are the mother tongue of tens of millions of people, each more than the population of many UN member countries.

Twitter feeds in Hindi is not a right, it is a privilege. It should not be awarded to a country that discriminates and disrespects the languages of its own people. Suspend the twitter feeds until India does not discriminates the languages of India, many of them older than Hindi.

4. Practice Multilingualism within India First

Pressing for Hindi tours at the United Nations, Mr. Deepak Misra, a member of the Indian Mission, said: "Genuine multilingualism promotes unity in diversity and international understanding by recognizing the importance of communicating to the peoples of the world in their languages by bringing the common goals and ideals closer to the people." (Indo Asian News Service; October 20, 2018)

Great thought. Great statement. We would applaud Mr. Misra if not for the hypocrisy of this statement. While this representative of the Indian government is talking of "multilingualism promoting unity in diversity and international understanding by recognizing the importance of communicating to the peoples of the world in their languages" in order to get Hindi into United Nations, Indian government is doing exactly the opposite within India.

India is multilingual country. Indian constitution lists 22 languages. Instead of promoting all these languages, Indian government is trying to make all languages except Hindi useless by promoting Hindi use wherever possible and ignoring state languages even within the respective states. For example, Kannada is the state language of Karnataka State. Most ATMs at Indian government owned banks do not allow transactions in Kannada but English and Hindi only. Most bank forms are in Hindi and English only even in non-Hindi states. Warning messages on railway compartments are in Hindi and English only. There are many more examples of ignoring state languages and thrusting Hindi everywhere, thus trying to artificially create a uni-lingual country - where Hindi would reign supreme.

One more example of India's despicable record of promoting uni-lingualism. Indian Coastguard personnel are not required to know the language of the coastal state where they are posted. In March 2017, a Tamil Nadu fisherman was dying in the sea and fellow fishermen called the nearby coastguard vessel. No one in the coastguard ship understood the local language Tamil and the fisherman died [Reference 3 = Volume???, Chapter ???]. Indian government preaching the importance of multilingualism in order to push Hindi in the United Nations is despicable. India, practice multilingualism first within India.

The only reason Indian government grudgingly uses English in addition to Hindi is because of the blood sacrifice the people of Tamil Nadu State made in 1965 against Hindi imposition; sixty three unarmed protesters were shot and killed by police and army in a two-weeks period [Volume 3; Chapter 1]. Instead of the multilingualism India is preaching to UN, Indian government is hell-bent on making non-Hindi languages useless outside people's homes as described in the previous two paragraphs.

A Parliamentary Sub-Committee Meeting was held in Mysore (Karnataka State) on July 5, 2008 to review the "implementation" of Hindi as per the official language policy. There was a large board written in Kannada that said, "Use Kannada at home, use Rajabhasha in office". They are referring to Hindi as the Rajabhasha. If you use a language only at home and nowhere else, be it government offices or private offices, the language would simply become useless and wither away. This is what India wants within

the country but wants United Nations to use Hindi. **I, a non-Hindi citizen, oppose it until India practices multilingualism within the country.**

5. Opposition to Hindi Imposition in India

Indian government will tell the United Nations that over a billion people want Hindi in UN. Not true. Over sixty percent of that billion people are non-Hindi peoples and they feel no pride or get any benefit in the use of Hindi in United Nations. In fact, many states do not want Hindi in their states. We mentioned opposition to Hindi in National Highways milestones and Bengaluru Metro name boards in Section 2. Tamil Nadu state government banned Hindi from its schools in 1968 and it remains in effect as of now (2018). There are periodic pleas and protests to hold all central government recruitment examinations in all 22 languages (instead of Hindi and English) with India turning a deaf ear. This language policy discriminates against non-Hindi job seekers. [A few examinations are held in some non-Hindi languages also.]

There are periodic protests even today against Hindi imposition in southern and eastern states of India. On Indian Independence Day in 2015, the tweet (twitter) #StopHindiImposition trended Number 10 for all of India (Hindi and non-Hindi states) and was Number One in major non-Hindi cities.

Do not let India fool you saying that many non-Hindi students are learning Hindi. Indian government is a major employer and they pay more than state government jobs. All Indian government employees have to learn Hindi within the first year. A 2003 Indian Railways memorandum to managers said that employees not attending Hindi training classes "should be severely dealt with". **Circus tigers do tricks, not because they love to do tricks but because they are punished otherwise.** Students are learning Hindi because learning Hindi even before they have the job makes thing easier for them on the job.

If a vote is held today, over 99% non-Hindi peoples would vote against Indian government using Hindi in their states. Will Indian government accept the challenge and hold a vote among non-Hindi peoples? They are about 60% of the population of India.

6. A Request to the United Nations

We know that United Nations does not interfere in the internal affairs of a member country. We know that the language issue is an internal affair. But United Nations should not elevate Hindi in the international arena while Indian government is suppressing the language rights of its people by imposing Hindi.

Hold India to its own words to United Nations General Assembly committee dealing with special political matters, "Genuine multilingualism promotes unity in diversity and international understanding by recognizing the importance of communicating to the peoples of the world in their languages by bringing the common goals and ideals closer to

the people." Just change "international" to "national" and "people of the world" to "people of India".

"Genuine multilingualism promotes unity in diversity and national understanding by recognizing the importance of communicating to the peoples of India in their languages by bringing the common goals and ideals closer to the people." Ask India to implement this policy and then come to United Nations to add Hindi to twitter feeds, guided tours and other matters.

7. What We, the People, Can Do?

An Internet article like this will get only limited readership and publicity. Public statements from non-Hindi Indian politicians would get far wider publicity. When Mr. Sashi Tharoor, Member of Parliament from the South Indian State of Kerala, spoke against making Hindi an official language of the UN (Indian Express; January 6, 2018), it got wide coverage in major newspapers and television all over India.

I urge our readers to write their politicians. Also write to United Nations General Secretary not to use Hindi in any way in the United Nations until India gives equal status to all Indian languages. Also express your views on social media.

(First Published: December 2018)

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தமிழ்நாடு இந்தி எதிர்ப்புப் போராட்டங்களும், தீக்குளிப்புகளும் - தஞ்சை நலங்கிள்ளி
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